423
556
612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

[482
465]

Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first [554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go [482] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age. [857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

● [482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

[178] The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

Tichabot
Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585
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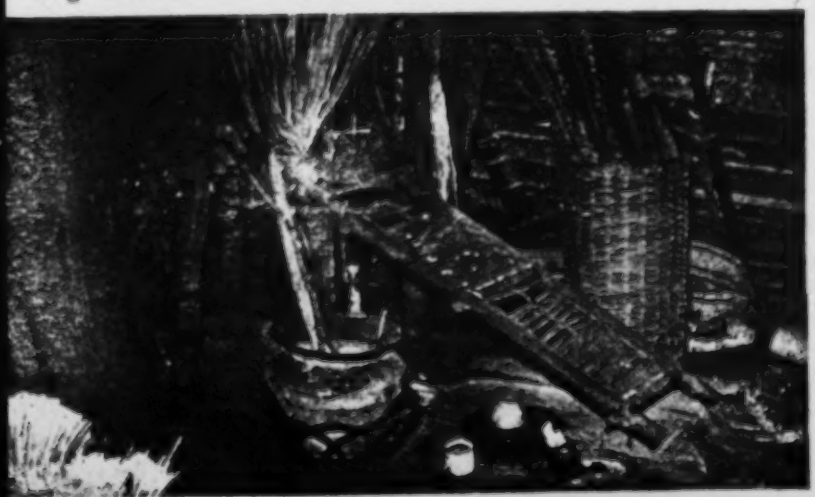
A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

769
778
352
415



The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END PLATE 3]